224 meat which would otherwise spoil after about three days.
[264] The pressure of maintaining a meat supply was great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or four wild pigs in twenty four hours.

Of all the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts were most important. The usual system was for three or four men to go ahead with their dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men waited along the path which the animal would probably follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crossed a stream, in order to ambush the fleeing beast. Needless to say this called for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters informed their waiting companions of the specie of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If the ambush was not possible, the dogs ran down the animals and brought them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalked game, the above techniques were most important for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food. Whereas it was possible for only three or four men to hunt the other animals, the entire male population of one or two villages might participate in a wild pig hunt. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to fifty to one hundred pigs. Under these circumstances a single hunter could only kill one, or at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men could surround the animals and kill a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, peccary, and

252 Processing of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be working in all stages of the process at the same time, thus expediting greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. In addition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous task was made pleasant, as the making of beijú was an occasion for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal techniques of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

[476]

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264 476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within the Mundurucú village was very fluid. Beijú was produced and shared jointly by the members of the extended family and was further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food was divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small, a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fact that all the men of the village ate together in

264 476 the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. [576] It was not considered polite to demand something from another. [437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively [556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

343 [591] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiju was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

264 to the men's house. A loud whoop signalled to the other men that the food was ready. Due to their hunting activities, the men usually ate in the morning and at night. The women and children ate small portions all day long if there was food in the village. When the men were in the village they often joined in these small repasts between the meals taken in the men's house.

592 The dwelling house

Whereas the primary locus of male social life was the village men's house, that of the female was the dwelling. Each dwelling had a headman, the husband of the oldest woman in the female line represented in the house. However, the focus of his activities was the men's house and the coordination of female activity was in the hands of his wife. He was a man of prestige and influence in the house and village, but his wife always insisted that it was she who told the other women what to do and not her husband. In general, the Mundurucú woman worked harder than the men, but she was by no means dominated by them. She had certain duties that she knew were those of the women and she knew how to do them and when to do them. It was not the place of the male to interfere except if she was lazy.

The interior of the house was completely unpartitioned. Each woman and her children occupied a given section of the house where her belongings were kept. Closer relatives, such as true sisters, usually hung their family's hammocks adjacent to each other. Only if the husband was sick and

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century. 621

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row. 344

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present. 344 621

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized. 585

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there. 264 592

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of 592

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13



greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself